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I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly

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The FBI's Indifference to Civil Rights

The most important single omission in the latest report of the Civil Rights Commission is its failure to make any mention, much less study, of the FBI's relationship to the struggle for civil rights. J. Edgar Hoover's firm position as the capital's No. 1 Sacred Cow makes the omission understandable. The poor harassed Commission has enough on its hands. But sooner or later this question will have to be opened up. This becomes clearer when one takes note of the clear and inescapable, though unspoken, implication of the latest findings. This is that the Negro cannot count on litigation but must resort to wider measures of non-violent demstration in the streets if he is to win freedom from discrimination within the measurable future. Nearly ten years after the school desegregation decision, only 8 percent of the Negro pupils in the South attend schools with white children. After six years of Federal suits, the number of registered Negro voters in 100 of the worst counties in the South has risen only from 5 to 8.3 percent; in the Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina counties, the number of Negroes registered is actually *less* than it was six years ago. More demonstrations mean more clashes with the police. The police in the South, insofar as the Negro is concerned, are not upholders of law but the main instrument of a police state designed to maintain whites as the master class. This is evident from the listing of suits pending; many are against Sheriffs and other police officials for the beating, intimidation and baseless arrest of voter registration drive workers.

Too Fraternal With The Cops

This is the most overt form of civil rights violation by law enforcement officials. But the FBI has long been notoriously reluctant to impair its fraternal relations with local and State police officials by a too vigorous inquiry into civil rights infractions. In past years, the figures given by Mr. Hoover in the annual appropriations hearings have tended reassuringly to show the police and their friends in Congress how few complaints ever reach the stage of prosecution, much less conviction. In recent years, as the civil rights struggle became politically potent, fewer figures have been supplied lest this furnish ammunition to Mr. Hoover's critics. Even the number of complaints is no longer given. Thus last year Mr. Hoover provided a table showing that the number of "bombing or racial matters" had risen to 4,077 in the fiscal year 1961, or 37% above 1960, while "civil rights" cases were up 29% to 2,903. But no figures were given to show in how many cases arrests were made or convictions obtained. Even the number of complaints were not given in this year's hearings. Indeed it would have been very embarrassing to show how many "bombing or racial matters" had occurred in fiscal 1962 when the Justice Department now claims that it did not apply the anti-bombing provisions of the 1960 Civil Rights Act for two years because there were no important bombings until those in Shreveport, La. early this year. The anti-bombing provisions of the 1960 Act were intended to bring the FBI into the picture at once in racial bombings but the FBI has shown as little enthusiasm for getting into these as into civil rights cases.

Every year, in the appropriations hearings, Mr. Hoover presents a chart "to refute what we hear so frequently, criticizing the use of confidential informants." This shows the amount of stolen property recovered and the number of fugitives arrested through the tips of confidential informants. But Mr. Hoover has yet to report tips leading to arrests in the mounting toll of murders and bombings in the civil rights struggle. The day after the Birmingham church bombing in which four little girls were killed, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., of Americans for Democratic Action, sent President Kennedy a telegram in which he said the increasing number of such outrages made more shocking "the failure or reluctance of the FBI to infiltrate right wing subversive elements." This was not the first time the Administration was asked to step up

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FBI Still 99¾% Lily-White

We seem to have obtained the first exact figures on the number of Negro FBI men. This is how our unexpected scoop came about. The 1963 report of the Civil Rights Commission says a questionnaire was sent out to local and State police officials to determine how many employ Negroes. "The Commission's statistical survey," the report declares, "establishes that law enforcement agencies throughout most of the nation are staffed exclusively or overwhelmingly by whites." We were puzzled by the failure to give figures on the racial composition of the Federal government's own police, the FBI.

When we telephoned the Civil Rights Commission to find out why, an official suggested that perhaps the figure was kept secret to protect the FBI's confidential informants. This didn't seem very plausible, unless the FBI was using bleached Negroes to infiltrate the Ku Klux Klan. We pressed for a definite answer. Later we were informed that a staff report showed that as of the end of 1962, the FBI had 10 Negroes among its 6,030 special agents and 3 Negroes in another category, known for some unexplained reason, as Special Agents, Limited. Could this mean that, like some Negro deputy sheriffs in the South, they couldn't arrest white men? My informant was sure it was nothing like that. He added that "as of today" and since the staff report, the FBI had hired 5 more Negroes as special agents. This still leave the FBI almost 99¾% lily-white, or neck-and-neck with Ivory Soap.

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The No. 1 Menace to Internal Security Are the Armies We Finance and Train

The Only Sure Way to Stem the Anti-Democratic Trend in Latin America

The surest way to end the epidemic of military take-overs in Latin America would be to end our military aid program in the hemisphere. The original excuse for the program, when it began in 1946, was hemispheric defense. But "the great majority of civilians," Edwin Liuewen wrote in his book, "Arms and Politics in Latin America" (*Praeger*) have been led by experience "to fear their own armed forces far more than they do the Russians." Lately the excuse has been internal security and "civic action." But militarism is plainly the No. 1 menace to internal security in Latin America, and the kind of civic action to which the military gravitates is to take over the government and the Treasury whenever they can. These armies are now the largest single source of graft in the hemisphere and the biggest single obstacle to the reforms the U.S. claims it wants. In a foolish speech (see adjoining box) to a hemispheric military conference in the Canal Zone last July, Teodoro Moscoso disclosed that Latin American military expenditures are now running at one and a half billion dollars a year, or more than our government made available last year to the Alliance for Progress of which he is U.S. Coordinator. This literally takes bread from the hungry. The excuse, according to the report on the foreign assistance program sent Congress by the President last August 28, is that "well-trained and effective armed forces" provide "the stability and internal security necessary during the critical period of economic and social reform." The overthrow of democratic regimes in Honduras and the Dominican Republic by the military we financed and trained is only the latest evidence of how untrue this is.

The Lesson Fidel Taught

The only country in Latin America with a stable and free society is also the only one without a standing army of any kind—Costa Rica. Fidel Castro taught the hemisphere an invaluable lesson when he at once dissolved Batista's army and sent our military mission packing. Our first move where democratic regimes appear—as they did in the Dominican Republic and Honduras—should be to withdraw our military missions, and encourage the new regime to cut the army down to size. Our military tend all too often to share the tough guy attitudes and political backwardness of the Latin military, particularly the tendency to see as Communistic any proposal for social and economic reform; such attitudes by our military encourage local take-overs. Senator Humphrey in 1957 and Senator Gruening in August of last year warned against military aid and the military mind in Latin America but to no avail. Working with the military were rightist Catholic parties in both Honduras and the Dominican Republic, and behind both were U.S. interests hostile to reform, United Fruit in Honduras, Standard Oil of New Jersey and Puerto Rican Sugar Company in the Dominican Republic. Standard Oil has been lobbying against Bosch in Washington because he resented the terms of an oil refinery contract hastily entered into after his election but before he took office. Puerto Rican Sugar Company hostility, like that of the native capitalists, becomes understandable when one notes that the 30 cents a day which used to be paid common labor under Trujillo had gone up under Bosch, in some cases to $2 a day. These forces drove out the most gifted democratic leader Latin America has had in a long time.

Those liberal Senators like Gruening and newspapers like the *Washington Post* which advocate a kind of Eisenhower Doctrine for the Caribbean, with interventions like that in Lebanon to support democratic governments, seem to us well-intentioned but deluded. It is not accidental that the only government against which we have taken strong measures was Castro's; even our action against Trujillo was motivated by the desire to set a precedent for a blockade of Cuba. Support for really democratic governments and for social reform in Latin America is at best lukewarm, half-hearted and confined to a fringe element of thoughtful liberals and some businessmen. United action is only possible against the menace of communism, real or imaginary; only then does the country and the Congress really spring to arms. Under such circumstances, any new doctrine of intervention, whatever its origins, will soon be used to stiffen U.S. support for gendarme government. Latin American democrats will instinctively and wisely fear us most when we come bearing such gifts. It's not more intervention that Latin America needs but less—and the first step should be to end military aid altogether. That billion and a half spent on armies would do more good spent on roads, schools and shoes.

Just Before The Roof Fell In

"The trend clearly is away from 'personalismo', from coups and revolutions which bring a mere change of faces without any change in policy, away from the suppression of legitimate opposition elements; away from callous disregard for the real problems of the majority of the people. With few exceptions, the military in Latin America today are showing a greatly increased sense of political, economic and social responsibility, including their prime duty of supporting constitutional civil government."

—Teodoro Moscoso, Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress, at the 1963 Conference of the American Armies, Panama Canal Zone, July 19.

Dominican Republic Got More U.S. Arms Aid Per Capita Than Any Other Latin Land

"The U.S. supplied the Dominican Republic during fiscal year 1963 far more military aid for its size than any other country in all of Latin America. . . . We have built up the power of the military junta. . . . American military aid in Latin America has built up in country after country a powerful military caste, nondemocratic in its ideology, nondemocratic in its philosophy and nondemocratic in its tactics, for military castes the world around are not noted for their belief in the institutions of democracy. . . .

"It (U.S. military aid) is responsible for building up the power of the Fascist regime of the military which has taken over under Col. Elias Wessin y Wessin. Who is he? He is a man with a sordid record of Fascist police state leanings in the Dominican Republic. . . . The President of the Dominican Republic . . . sought to remove this Fascist-oriented police state Colonel. . . . When he (Bosch) tried to exercise his constitutional power, the military took over."

—Morse (D. Ore) in the Senate Sept. 30.

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McGovern Quotes Ike Against JFK In Fighting to Cut Down Military "Overkill"

Kennedy Afraid to Venture A World Peace Through World Trade Campaign

How can we expect the poor Latin Americans to control their military when we do so poor a job with our own? The Senate had just finished ratifying the nuclear test ban treaty when the leadership called up a $47 billion military budget and in little more than an hour obtained its approval 77 to 0, with 23 not voting. These astronomical annual totals are usually approved in cursory fashion. This year McGovern of South Dakota dared question them and put his challenge to a vote though he knew he would be snowed under. McGovern followed up his August 2 speech on "overkill" by moving for a 10% or $5 billion cut in projected additions to weapons and nuclear stockpile. His argument: that we were wasting on "overkill" resources which could go to build a stronger America and a more stable world. His cut, he argued, would still leave the new Kennedy military and atomic budget ten billions higher than Eisenhower's last! The Democrat, McGovern, in attacking arms spending, found himself quoting Eisenhower against the sharp rise under Kennedy. But no Republican rose to support him. Only another Democrat, Randolph of West Virginia, backed him on the floor and in the vote. Two others, Nelson of Wisconsin and Morse of Oregon were paired for the motion. Peace groups ought to use the McGovern speeches of Aug. 2 and Sept. 24 as ammunition and get ready for the next round. Sooner or later the country will wake up.

A Little Evangelism Needed

A little moral leadership, a little evangelism, would help. But Kennedy, like Eisenhower, lacks taste or capacity for it. The Administration's hesitations about selling wheat to Russia are another indication of Mr. Kennedy's unwillingness to take the risks of leadership for peace. His idea as always is not to mobilize the latent idealism of the country—he has no real faith in it—but to make a deal behind the scenes with Dirksen and Halleck. Maybe he will feel himself stronger now that Eisenhower has spoken out in favor of a wheat deal if "it is a good horse trade." Characteristically, Ike is anxious to disavow any deeper moral or political purpose. He doesn't want us to be "altruistic." He sees "no principle" involved, only "material gain." Thus small minds reduce great occasions to their own dimensions. In the Senate Oct. 3 Javits of New York in a comprehensive discussion of East-West trade pleaded that the possibility of reducing "tensions among nations through mutually beneficial economic relations has been demonstrated over and over again in history." Humphrey, in despair over the hesitation, told the Senate he thought we had already missed the boat on a wheat deal and provided a succinct answer to objections from the right: "I never have heard of a people who have become more placid, more pliable or more reasonable because they were hungry." A "world peace through world trade" campaign is his objective, but Kennedy holds back. He doesn't like to venture beyond sure things—a treaty against nuclear testing when both sides are satiated with testing, and now perhaps an agreement not to put bombs in orbit, a step neither side considers militarily worthwhile anyway.

From Khrushchev's point of view, the scene is a bitter one. With Kennedy as before with Eisenhower, he staked his political position on the possibility of a detente with the United States. Now he sees it may even be impossible to buy U.S. wheat for gold without undergoing a humiliating political debate, with the possibility of rejection. Leading the fight against the sale of U.S. wheat to Russia is his old opponent, Adenauer. To us he says "only the stupidest calves choose their own butcher." But extensive tables put into the Congressional Record by Javits show that Western Germany enjoys by far the biggest Western trade with the Soviet bloc—almost $1.5 billions in 1962. A survey on the financial page of the *New York Times* Oct. 6 showed that one third of the 100 million bushels of wheat equivalent in flour bought by Russia from Western Europe recently came from West Germany, the bulk of it being milled from U.S. wheat. *Oct. 8*

On Mme. Nhu's Optimism

"It's not really a war any more. . . . I am optimistic because the strategic hamlets have made it impossible for the Viet Cong to score new successes."

—Mme. Nhu, at Paris press conference, Washington Post Foreign Service, Oct. 4.

"American military sources also disclosed that two Vietnamese strategic hamlets were overrun by an estimated battalion of Communist rebels in the Dak Bot region, 20 miles southeast of the Provincial capital of Pleiku. The source said the attack occurred early Monday and that the Communists drove the hamlets' estimated 2,000 inhabitants back in the mountains from which they had come only 4 months ago."

—AP from Saigon, in adjoining column, same day.

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Hoover Admits He Spies on Negroes, But Silent on Racists

(Continued from Page One)

surveillance of racist and rightist organizations. A similar proposal was made privately by Walter Reuther to Attorney General Robert Kennedy in the Fall of 1961.*

A Wide Range of Snooping

In the annual budget hearings, Mr. Hoover boasts a network of informers in liberal and Leftist organizations. A minuscule Communist Party is his excuse for surveillance over a wide spectrum of opinion. "Since the Communist Party," Mr. Hoover told the House Appropriations Committee this year, "carries on many and varied activities to infiltrate and manipulate various segments of American life, we must have broad and penetrative coverage so that we may be aware of the plans and tactics of this subversive organization." Just how "broad and penetrative" this coverage is may be gathered from Mr. Hoover's boast that the FBI had "approximately 165 known or suspected Communist front or Communist infiltrated organizations under investigation." It takes hard searching to find a half dozen genuine Communist front organizations nowadays. Mr. Hoover met this objection by explaining that while "some of these organizations are created by the Communists" many are "legitimate non-subversive organizations" which the Communists have urged their members to join. This admits that many "legitimate non-subversive" organizations are among the 165 watched by the FBI. Among them, according to Mr. Hoover's presentation to the House Appropriations Committee, are "organizations in the peace, youth, political, trade union, Negro, disarmament, and nuclear testing fields." This list indicates how far the FBI reaches into respectable organizations with legitimate purposes, many of them shared by the Kennedy Administration. Notice that Negro organizations are included among those over which the FBI keeps watch. In the fiscal 1962 budget hearings, in explaining that the FBI had "some 200 organizations . . . now under investigation" Mr. Hoover said that the Communists were exploiting the Negro sit-in demonstrations. It is clear that the FBI watches the Negroes closely. It is not at all clear that they watch anti-Negro organizations.

Mr. Hoover dwells at length each year on internal security, but the menace is always on the Left. In this year's hearings, Mr. Hoover took time out to dwell on the insidious dangers behind the Communist campaign for peaceful co-existence. But he never seems to see any danger in the paranoid racist propaganda that has created a sickness in the South which may erupt into the worst menace to internal security since the Civil War. Mr. Hoover is not only incapable of seeing this but shares the pathological obsession with the Red Menace characteristic of racist and Fascist groups. His power and influence are rarely turned against these kindred mentalities. In this year's hearings, he said he had only 95 telephone wiretaps in operation, and that these "are utilized only in cases where the internal security of the country is involved, or where kidnapping or extortion may bring about the jeopardy of a human life." We are as opposed to wire-tapping as we are to political espionage, right or left. But it is Mr. Hoover who makes and applies the rules. We wonder how many, if any, of those wiretaps are used to protect internal security or human life against well known hate groups which breed the madness that ends in these bombings. It is time a group of representative citizens asked the President to set up a Commission to investigate the role of the FBI in the civil rights struggle. It is serious when the Federal agency on which Negroes must depend for investigation of civil rights cases, is so indifferent to them.

One Way to Solve the Race Problem

"Many military commanders are aware of the plight of Negro personnel. With few exceptions, however, their policy has been to yield to the racial practices of the community. One [military] installation in Alabama is faced with a delicate problem because it trains foreign nationals as well as Americans. The military authorities have solved it by issuing 'passports' to colored foreigners to enable them to travel unmolested in the community. For the American serviceman no such protection is afforded."

—1963 Report of the Civil Rights Commission.

*Parts of a 24-page memorandum submitted to the Attorney General by Mr. Reuther may be found in the recent book, "The Far Right" by Donald Janson and Bernard Eismann.

IFS Speaks on Vietnam in San Francisco, at 8 p.m., October 25 at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, and 8 p.m., October 28 in Los Angeles, at the Music Box Theater, 7080 Hollywood Boulevard

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